Fellowship

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Mariage de Convenance

Nonviolence and Coercion, by George M. Houser

Was Shakespeare a Pacifist? by D. B. Hemmeon

Fellowship and the Pay Check, by Constance Muste

Soon, but Not Yet, by Milton Mayer

London Letter, by Vera Brittain

THIS MONTH

THE British take over much of the magazine this month: Vera Brittain sends another *London Letter;* the Bard of Avon submits a membership application, via Nova Scotia's Reverend D. B. Hemmeon, in *Was Shakespeare a Pacifist?* and the monthly meditation is written by W. E. Orchard, a Catholic priest of London, author of "From Faith to Faith." . . . George Houser, one-half of the FOR racial-industrial department—no Britisher he—takes on the knotty problem of nonviolent coercion, and nonviolently unknots it. . . . Stormy Petrel Mayer, refusing to let sleeping consciences lie, prods at them with *Soon, But Not Yet!* . . . and assistant editor Connie Muste gets close to home in *Fellowship and the Pay Check.*

NEXT MONTH

HENRY Wallace continues to plague the pacifist voter, so Kenneth Ripley Forbes and A. J. Muste take up the cudgels, for and against. . . . FELLOWSHIP's editor interviews a 31-year old Army carrier pigeon in *Corporal Benny Speaks Up!* with cartoons by Ed Nofziger.... Fred Nora shows you the co-op movement in postwar Europe. . . . There are a few eye-opening facts about oil and the Near East . . . and another Pacifist Research Bureau supplement, on Gandhi and Gandhiism.

FELLOWSHIP

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2929 Broadway
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A. J. MUSTE, *Secretary*

JOHN NEVIN SAYRE, *International Secretary*

ALFRED HASSLER, *Editor*

CONSTANCE MUSTE, *Assistant Editor*

EDITORIAL CONTRIBUTORS

Devere Allen
Walter Russell Bowie
Vera Brittain
Margueritte Harmon Bro
Allan Knight Chalmers
Bernard C. Clausen
Sarah N. Cleghorn
Florence Converse
Henry H. Crane
Albert Edward Day
Elisabeth D. Dodds
Eugene Exman
Caleb Foote
Albert Fowler
Richard B. Gregg
Wallace Hamilton
Erna Harris
John Haynes Holmes
Allan A. Hunter
Josephine W. Johnson
Muriel Lester
Halford E. Luccock
Alfred D. Moore
Ferner Nuhn
Kirby Page
Edith Lovejoy Pierce
Edwin McNeill Poteat
Douglas V. Steere
John M. Swomley, Jr.
Howard Thurman

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the journal of the fellowship of reconciliation

June, 1948 Vol. XIV—No. 6

Subheads

Cat and Bag—Temporary Draft Division

(From testimony by Secretary Forrestal before House Armed Services Committee, April 12, 1948.)

Mr. Hebert (Louisiana)—I understood you to say that Selective Service is merely a temporary measure?

Forrestal—Yes, sir.

Hebert—Which will be on the books so long as you do not have UMT; is that correct?

Forrestal—Yes, sir; that is right.

Hebert—But it will be as temporary as some of those buildings on Constitution Avenue which were erected during World War I and which are still there, if we do not have UMT?

Forrestal—That is my opinion.

Hebert—I think it is an amazing thing, as even the temper of Congress indicates, where UMT had little or no chance to get by, as soon as Selective Service was put before the people it received a great wave of support by the very people who oppose UMT. . . . If they do that as a substitute, as a temporary substitute for UMT, I think they are going to be disillusioned; is that correct?

Forrestal—That is my view. I think it is a sort of relief that comes to people's minds who rightly or wrongly dislike to face an issue.

Candidate

The Liberal Party and the Americans for Democratic Action are urging General Eisenhower to seek the Democratic nomination for President. Aside from the fact that Eisenhower has been pushing vigorously for UMT, which both groups oppose, the only drawbacks anyone can see in him as a candidate are the minor considerations that he has not said where he stands on any other important issue, or to what party he belongs.

Microcosm

For people who like their problems in nutshells, we give you the whole world dilemma in the subjects of two high school essay contests sponsored by the Veterans of

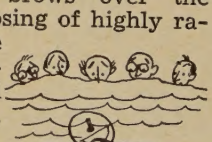
Foreign Wars. In Oregon the veterans chose "Human Rights: the Key to Peace"; in California the approach was "Universal Military Training: Key to Peace."

Here and There With the Atom

A New Zealand paper reports that fatalities in American atom plants have become a problem to morticians, who are endangered by radioactivity emanating from the body. This radioactivity continues even after cremation, says the story, which adds that leadlined atomic burial vaults are on sale in New York. Story unconfirmed.

Printed in *Sir* and various other publications is a statement supposedly made by Dr. Irving Rehman, of the University of California, that the atomic cloud created by the Bikini explosions is still circling the globe, and has been identified on its sixth trip around. Story unconfirmed.

According to the Associated Press Science Editor atomic scientists are mopping their brows over the problem of disposing of highly radioactive residue from their experiments. All normal methods, such as burying, disposing at sea, burning, and so on, are closed to them, since all would release the deadly rays into earth or water or atmosphere, from which they could be absorbed and returned to the earth in rain. Even enclosing in concrete cylinders sunk in the sea is not satisfactory, since the cylinders might disintegrate in a century, and the atoms would still be active. Only possible solution so f is disposal in abandoned salt mine which are always dry.



Senator Hickenlooper says h would not favor the "indiscrimi nate" use of atom bombs by th country in a war, but sees nothin wrong with their "strategic" us where they might save lives an shorten hostilities.

The United Nations Atomic En ergy Commission has suspended i activities, since the "larger issue between nations must be solved be fore it can seriously seek a mean of world control of atomic energy.

Taft-Hartley

From time to time we com across an article in a magazine c mass circulation telling us that th Taft-Hartley Act is good for labo that the feeling against it stem from deceptive union propaganda and that even union members favo its provisions when they hear them explained individually.

Right now we are seeing one c these provisions in action in ou own community. The 177 drivers c a commuting bus line serving 40,0 000 people are on strike for a wag increase. They get $1.20 per hour and get paid only for their actua driving time, not for the long lay overs between runs. That comes t $48 a week for what is nominally a forty-hour week but which in many cases runs well over that in time consumed. ($48 a week come out to $2496 a year; the Bureau o Labor Statistics in December se $3432 as the minimum on which a family of four could live decently in the New York City area.) The drivers are asking $1.50 per hour or $60 per week.

The strike has continued for a month, with no sign of a settlement

Now the company is advertising for new drivers, having announced that the striking drivers are no longer in their employ. The company can do this because the Taft-Hartley Act, said by its sponsors to "protect the workingman," denies the right to a collective bargaining election to unions whose officers do not sign a non-Communist affidavit.

No one has accused any of the drivers of being Communist, or said that the strike is Communist-led. But the strikers make up a small local of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, whose international president, A. F. Whitney, has refused to sign the non-Communist oath. (No one has accused Mr. Whitney of being a Communist, either, incidentally.) So 177 Americans, most of whom probably have never seen Mr. Whitney, are now in danger of losing their livelihood by the operation of the law that "protects the workingman."

Just thought you'd like to know.

Draft

Somebody, suspecting an interest in conscription, sent us a reprint from the *Rocky Mountain News,* reporting the draft order issued by Haile Selassie when Italy attacked Ethiopia in 1935. It reads:

"1. When this order is received, all men and boys able to carry a spear will go to Addis Ababa.

"2. Every married man will bring his wife to cook and wash for him.

"3. Every unmarried man will bring any unmarried woman he can find to cook and wash for him.

"4. Women with babies, the blind, and those too aged and infirm to carry a spear, are excused.

"5. Anyone found at home after receiving this order will be hanged."

Straws in a Foolish Wind

Editor and Publisher reports that ten minutes after President Truman recommended the draft and UMT, a young man called the city desk of a Georgia newspaper and asked how to spell "conscientious."

* * *

The International Beauty Show displayed several new coiffures with the hair standing on end, which probably is the best example of adapting to circumstances seen this year.

* * *

Sweden has announced a program of neutrality in the event of a third world war. The stubborn Scandinavians refuse to become a peace-loving nation!

* * *

Telegrams have been sent to Arabs and Jews in Palestine pleading with them not to damage the holy places of that country during their current war. It is hoped that all destructive impulses will be directed exclusively toward the various temples of the holy spirit inhabiting that section of the world.

* * *

Soviet Russia continues its aggravating practice of refusing to cooperate with the United States. Right in the midst of the best Red-scare we've had to date, the Russians demobilized more of their army.

What is coercion? Can we avoid it? Here is a frank consideration of—

Nonviolence and Coercion

By GEORGE M. HOUSER

THE OTHER DAY I met with a group which was discussing techniques for resisting racial discrimination. Inevitably two important questions were raised: first, is it necessary to take coercive action to change the unjust racial practices of some institutions and business concerns? and second, can coercive action be nonviolent? For the pacifist these vital questions demand careful consideration.

Social Pressure

My own experience has led me to the conclusion that, with rare exceptions, discriminating establishments do not change their policies without the application of some kind of social pressure. But pressure, or coercion, covers a wide range of activity, and needs definition. The process of private discussion may be a kind of pressure. Recently the head of a large department store in Philadelphia interpreted as pressure a telephone conversation he had with a representative of the American Friends Service Committee. The subject of the conversation was the discriminatory employment policy of the department stores of the city.

The AFSC representative asked for an appointment to discuss the problem of the employment of Negroes in the stores. The employer turned down the request by saying in effect: "By what right can you question what I do in my store?" The employer rightfully saw that social pressure was being brought to bear upon him and other store heads by this simple conversation and yet no threat of overt group action was necessarily implied in the talk.

Individual Protest

Purely individual protest against the prevailing practice of some public place may be a form of pressure. Some years ago a well-known downtown Chicago restaurant refused to serve Negroes. One noon two women who were aware of the policy of the restaurant ate there. After they had finished their meal, they asked the waitress if they might speak to the proprietor. When he approached their table the women complimented him on his fine food. He was duly appreciative until they raised the question of his race policy. Immediately his attitude changed. He recognized this as social pressure. He objected to it, for he felt that he should be able to do as he wished in his establishment without any interference.

Any action that mobilizes public opinion or expresses social concern is pressure and a kind of coercion. This pressure may vary all the way from quiet conversation by individuals to the visit of a large delegation to a Congressman to present its "concerns"; from a polite personal letter of protest about an establishment's employment policy to a mass distribution of leaflets;

from an individual act of refusing to buy goods from a certain company because of its unjust labor policy to engaging in a wholesale strike or mass boycott.

Pressure begins whenever the question of the rightness of a policy is brought to the attention of an appropriate official. Sometimes the mere act of bringing a problem into the light of day through discussion is enough to initiate a change of policy. Occasionally this has happened with restaurants when the manager was not aware that some of his employees were allowing their personal prejudices to dictate the kind of service they gave to colored patrons. Sometimes simple negotiation or mediation will produce the desired change of policy. According to the President's Committee on Civil Rights, the effectiveness of the wartime Fair Employment Practices Committee was due almost entirely to its function as a mediation body. Thus, interpreting social pressure and coercion broadly, it would seem that social change is effected only by their use.

Alternative—Retreat

This leads directly to the observation that the alternative to using some kind of pressure is to retreat from the struggle altogether. This would mean, of course, that we adopt the unthinkable course of permitting the evils of segregation and discrimination to continue. To accept the practice which assigns Negroes to the worst slum sections of our large cities, to concede the right of schools to refuse admittance to members of minority groups, to acquiesce in the general employment pattern of giving Negroes only menial jobs, to accept without protest the usual roles of idiotic clowns and illiterate servants given Negroes on stage and screen—all this would make a mockery of our moral responsibility to establish the actual brotherhood of all men. Further, the longer we permit discriminatory practices to continue, the more certain becomes an eventual violent adjustment.

Fear Business Loss

Moreover, even though the head of a public institution may have a liberal attitude himself, he finds it no simple maneuver to change the accepted practices of years. It sounds like an evasion when the president of a business concern says: "Some of my best friends are Negroes (or Jews), but I just can't change our policy—my patrons and workers wouldn't stand for it," but sometimes he really fears that he may lose business or have a strike on his hands. Experience has demonstrated the unlikelihood of any such development, but the fear may exist nevertheless. Appeals in the name of religion or democracy will make little, if any, impression in such cases. The employer claims to be the victim of conservative social pressures. Only by the organization of counter-pressures from liberal sources can we achieve a change of policy. If a company official really has liberal sentiments, pressure by interracial groups will strengthen his hand by putting him in a position to present the matter of policy to his board of directors for revaluation, since the company stands to lose business if it continues the policy under attack.

The FOR interracial workshop in Washington, D. C., last July concerned itself with the exclusion of Negroes from the coffee shop of the Central YMCA. Representatives of

the workshop asked the executive secretary of the YMCA to call a meeting of the Board of Directors to discuss the existing policy and to consider changing it. The secretary, although indicating his own lack of prejudice, said that the matter was not important enough to warrant a special meeting, and on this unsatisfactory note closed the interview.

Since the directors must ordain any change of practice, the workshop members agreed that their only course was to make the executive secretary feel the importance of the problem. Consequently they carried on a three-day sitdown in the coffee shop. It attracted city-wide notice when the police entered the situation, reporters from the daily newspapers appeared and people crowded into the lobby of the YMCA to find out what was going on. The executive secretary then recognized the importance of the problem, and a date was set for a thorough discussion of the matter before the Board of Directors. Only through this kind of social pressure could a next step in the campaign become a possibility.

Attitudes Change

It is often argued that unjust patterns in society can be destroyed only after a change in personal attitudes has occurred. This belief, however, overlooks the vast amount of evidence now available to the effect that attitudes are related directly to the social environment and change most surely as the environment changes. Good racial attitudes will develop only as people have an opportunity to live in close contact with those of other racial groups. Goodwin Watson, in his book, *Action for Unity*, says:

> . . . . . if we try to change people's feelings while the caste barriers remain tacitly accepted the habits built around those barriers will silently undo anything accomplished. On the other hand, persons with strong prejudices who have to live and work together soon experience human qualities and relationships which tend to break down the prejudice. *

The same kind of statement is made again and again in the report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights.

Dire Results?

Institutions with discriminatory racial policies often predict all kinds of dire results from a proposed change, but the facts show that these dreadful things just don't happen. Riots, rapings and loss of business were foreseen in transit systems were to hire Negroes as bus drivers and streetcar motormen in New York, Cleveland, Chicago, Los Angeles, and Philadelphia. They have not occurred. A strike of transit workers in Philadelphia in 1944, supposedly caused by the upgrading of seven Negroes, was artificially created and short-lived. Today more than 120 Negroes are employed in that city as bus drivers and subway and streetcar operators, without racial difficulty.

Officials of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company in New York resisted pressure of groups seeking a fair employment practice there, until 1945, when New York passed a state law against discrimination in employment. Then they began to hire persons who were qualified,

* p. 64.

regardless of their race or religion. Recently I had a long interview with a vice-president of the Metropolitan, and heard him say, "Negro workers are now employed in practically every department of our work. They are accepted as any other worker would be. There has been no difficulty whatsoever."

The evidence points to this fact: The surest, and perhaps the only way to change people's attitudes on race is to give them the experience of living and working with those of other groups. This means that patterns of segregation must be changed through campaigns initiated by those who have a sincere conviction of the equality of all men. These changes will not occur naturally or inevitably unless some active group, through what have been defined above as pressure methods, sees that they take place.

What Is Violence?

If we recognize the need of some kind of social pressure to effect social change, we must also face the fact that not all pressure is nonviolent. The pacifist holds that violence in the long run is self-defeating, and that only nonviolent methods are justifiable. The problem arises when we try to establish the exact point at which nonviolent pressure becomes violent. Obviously, an outbreak of physical combat in which both contending groups participate is violence. Short of actual physical struggle, however, one has to conclude that a difference in psychological attitude and approach alone can differentiate nonviolence from violence.

A campaign is nonviolent if action is taken in the spirit of good will, without intent to do any personal harm, with no threat of physical conflict, and with every effort having been made to explain to the opposition the spirit in which the action is taken. Such a campaign will itself not create antagonism. When a spirit of nonviolence pervades an action, the dominant response from the opposition, from onlookers, and from the police if they are called, is one of sympathy and understanding. Antagonisms that do rise to the surface can, over a period of time, be forgotten.

A few years ago a group in Cleveland called the Future Outlook League was raising $150,000 for a new building and social center. This was the same group that had successfully ended discrimination in the employment policies of such businesses as the Ohio Telephone Company and a big automobile plant. It was amazing to note almost every week in the Negro papers that these large companies, which only a short time before had resisted the entreaties of the League, acquiescing only to the pressure of picket lines, were giving one- and two-thousand dollar checks to the building drive.

Some antagonisms almost always will be brought out into the open during such campaigns. The action does not create them but merely brings them to the surface where they may be dealt with forthrightly. There are things a group can do to keep these reactions at a minimum, through the control of its own approach.

When the interracial workshop had its three day sitdown in the YMCA in Washington, certain of the "Y" officials were emotionally aroused. These antagonisms abated over a period of weeks, although they have not by any means vanished even yet. A final paragraph in a letter from the workshop to the "Y" officials, however, express-

ed the attitude which the workshoppers tried to exemplify:

> We feel that we are not enemies, but friends. We worship the same God, we are all his children and therefore brothers. We are sorry for any bitterness that has come up. We know that we may seem "trouble-makers" to you. But we see the harm done by continuing to exclude Negro Americans from the Coffee Shop. The harm is done to Negroes. It is also done to white people. It robs them of the chance to extend in themselves "high standards of Christian character." It keeps them from meeting and understanding their fellow men of darker skin. And we see that as a deep sin, which, in conscience, we must work to wipe out.

Pacifists should not be afraid of the word "coercion." They should understand it in terms of their nonviolent philosophy. They should see nonviolent social pressure as a principle of fellowship and brotherhood that can become the pattern of daily living to an increasing extent.

Problem Complex

The problem of the relationship of nonviolence to coercion should not be over-simplified, for it is complex. Grave mistakes can come with the use of coercive methods. But the alternative is to run even greater risks. Attitudes will remain unchanged because conditions will remain unchanged. The stunting of personality will continue because discrimination will continue. And inevitable violence on a large scale will come because the maintenance of the status quo will make the volcanic forces now being suppressed explode with terrific fury. We must therefore commit ourselves to changing unjust conditions through organized efforts, and do so in the spirit of nonviolence.

"This is a program for war. It is based on the hopeless assumption that the world is irrevocably divided into two power blocs, and that consequently we must abandon all semblances of peaceful relations with the other half of the planet. Less than three years after the completion of the most devastating of all wars, this program gives support to the charge that the United States has rejected the notion of world cooperation in favor of the long outmoded fallacy that military preparedness, advisable as it may be, can guarantee peace.

"For the great overwhelming majority (of the peoples of the world) we think the feeling evoked by the haunting specter of world war III is one of horror that men who have unlocked the secrets of atomic power would unleash this awful power on their fellow men.

"The compulsory peacetime draft will wreck the institutions upon which America is founded. We are opposed to taking such steps toward our own self-destruction."

—*Minority report on Selective Service Act of* 1948, *from the House Armed Services Committee.*

Did the Bard believe the words he put in the mouth of King Henry V? Or—

Was Shakespeare a Pacifist?

By D. B. HEMMEON

THE FELLOWSHIP of Reconciliation was still half a millennium in the misty future when the Bard of Avon wrote and staged his incomparable dramas, but there is some reason to believe that he might have been persuaded to sign a Statement of Purpose, had the facts been otherwise. Or, had he been unwilling to be a "joiner," like his modern contemporary Shaw he might at least have sent his verbal arrows into the flanks of the militarists, supposing that war in his time had been the overarching issue it is in ours.

Curiously enough, support for such a theory can be found in what is generally considered to be one of the most "patriotic" pieces of literature in existence, *King Henry the Fifth.*

Night Encampment

The scene is the first in Act IV, in the encampment of the English army at Agincourt. With a few superficial alterations it might have taken place during World War II. The time is the hour just before dawn, with campfires smouldering and sentries shivering under a brightening eastern sky.

Three tommies are sitting together. Two of them are grousing; one is silent. The grousers are John Bates and Michael Williams. The silent one is Alexander Court.

Bates remarks that the army has no reason to welcome the day. Williams agrees with him and says that, though they see the beginning of the day, he doubts if they see the end of it.

At this point the King, who, disguised as a private soldier, has been taking stock of the army, approaches and enters into the conversation. He is asked by Williams what the High Command thinks of their outlook. The King says the High Command thinks the outlook is dark. Bates asks him if the King has been told that.

Thereupon the King, as is meet, delivers one of his Churchillian speeches, neat, moving and cumulative, concluding with an exhortation to overcome all natural fears in battle and above all to conceal all appearances of fear or doubt.

Bates says that is all very fine but as for himself, he would rather be up to his neck in the Thames and the High Command with him than freezing in the mud of France.

The King replies with great earnestness that the High Command would not wish itself anywhere in all the world than where it is.

Bates replies that that would suit him perfectly provided the High Command were here alone because it would be ransomed and thousands of lives would be saved.

Such a moving consideration as

this calls for adequate rebuttal and the King again pulls out the Churchill stop and proclaims that this is a Holy War. Williams bluntly replies that he can tell that to the marines.

Bates, however, says that the question of the war being a Holy War doesn't concern them because the Powers That Be are the only morally responsible persons and the soldiers are thus freed from the guilt of killing.

Anti-War Soldier

But now Private Williams, taking Bates' remark for a text, stands up and preaches a hot pacifist sermon. To die in battle, he says, is not to die well because, when all is said, those who do are murderers. He adds that there will be a day of sorry reckoning for those who led them into war. Williams here projects the question away from that particular war and includes in his judgment all war.

And now we come to the most interesting part of the story. Williams has put the King fairly up against it. Mark the King's argument. If a father, he says, sends his son upon a legitimate mission (it was, most appositely, a commercial mission) and the son, while engaged in the mission, misconducts himself, the father cannot be held responsible. He adds other equally cogent analogies and concludes, rightly enough, that every man's soul is his own and he alone and no other is responsible for his own conduct.

Bates and Williams, apparently hypnotized by the King and his eloquence, pronounce themselves satisfied. Whether they are in reality I am not so sure. Judging them by contemporary human nature, it is possible that they were swept beyond their mental depth by state propaganda and reverted to juvenility.

Here the incident closes. Let us return to the crux of the situation —that the King in his reply to Williams' devastating condemnation of war, *evades the real issue* of whether war is right or wrong, and whether the soldier is guilty because he engages in war. The King in his analogy changes the problem by introducing the soldier's guilt for other acts than those of war.

Who Slipped?

The interesting question is, who slipped up here, Shakespeare or King Henry?

I find it difficult to think that Shakespeare did and easy to conclude that he let the King. It would seem, strangely enough, that this contributor of so much beauty and passion to patriotism was not himself deceived by its grosser forms. He realized that there is no concealing or justifying the wrong of war. He may have counted on the chance that the spectators as well as the actors, would loyally fail to notice the slip in the heat of patriotism.

Shakespeare makes Williams the mouthpiece of pacifism and then, making the King the mouthpiece of the state, puts the state in the wrong by having the King beg the question.

It may not be without significance that Shakespeare introduced a person into this little vignette who makes but one remark by way of introduction and thereafter speaks only by his silence. "Brother John Bates," says Private Alexander Court, "is not that the morning that breaks yonder?"

Fellowship and the Pay Check

YOUR EMPLOYEES IN THE NATIONAL OFFICE TAKE A LOOK AT THEIR OWN LABOR RELATIONS

By Constance Muste

THERE NEVER HAS BEEN A PARTY LINE in the FOR requiring that all its members profess the same economic principles, and there never will be. But we who believe in the sacredness of the human personality and in the power of love in human relationships must examine our principles and our practice in the economic field in the light of those beliefs.

The FOR National Office employs about 25 people, both staff members and office workers. As might be expected, the relationships among them are informal and friendly.

Decisions from Above

However, in many ways the office has been run like any business office. Salaries were decided by the executive staff, within the limits of the budget. In the early days they were close to subsistence level, and many of the office workers were girls who were willing to live on that scale for a couple of years before they married and settled down. An individual who needed a higher salary or who had some other problem went to the office manager or to the staff and asked for it.

In general, the Fellowship's friendly relationships and the open-mindedness and fairness of the staff made it easy to consult them. On the other hand, because decisions were made almost entirely by the staff and by the very fact that the relationship was an informal one, each individual's requests became, in a sense, special pleading. No matter how understanding the staff might be, some dissatisfaction occasionally was felt at having to ask and receive salary raises and other things as if they were favors.

Salaries Raised

Over the last five or ten years the low level of salaries, both for office workers and executive staff, gradually was raised by the organization. While the FOR never has attempted to match the salaries which its workers could have commanded in the business world, it felt they should be above a bare subsistence level. For the past ten years or so salaries have been based on the type of job, experience, capability, length of service with the FOR, dependents, and in some small measure, the salary the individual might have made elsewhere.

About a year and a half ago, several of the office workers tried unsuccessfully to organize the office for the A.F.L. office workers' union. However, out of the meetings and discussions on this subject there grew an informal organization of the FOR office workers, for the pur-

pose of meeting to talk over office and individual problems, and of representing individual workers in negotiations with the staff. It was intended to put legitimate requests and claims for wage increases on a more businesslike basis, and to eliminate any feeling in the individual that he or she was asking for favors. It also seemed that the office staff in a democratic organization should have a voice in the setting of its own salaries, and with the constant increase in the cost of living, salaries were of considerable interest. When the new organization had negotiated successfully for a preliminary increase of base pay from $30 to $32 a week, it turned its attention to the matter of a permanent wage scale for its members.

Based on Need

The first such scale considered was based on the type of work done, with clerical workers in the lowest bracket, stenographers and record keepers next, and secretaries in the highest. After some discussion an alternative plan was proposed, with a base pay of $35 rather than the $32 then in force, and provision for wage differentials on the basis of expenditures for health, education, and dependents. In response to a concern for good workers who were making a sacrifice by remaining with the FOR when they could make more elsewhere, and to encourage steadiness in employment, provision was also included for increases according to length of service with the FOR. The scale of differentiation on the basis of need, as opposed to one based on type of work, was accepted by the staff and presented to the Budget Committee of the FOR, which adopted it.

This salary scale went into effect on April 1, 1947, and in October 1947 the office group proposed that beginning in January 1948 the base pay should be raised to $38, with the possibility of further increases if the cost of living continued to rise. This also was accepted.

Equalitarian Scale

Toward the end of 1947 the executive staff evolved a salary plan based on yearly take-home pay. It provided a reasonable allowance for medical and education expenses and for length of service, and, in the case of executive staff members, for dependents. The most radical factor in this proposal was that it provided that the same scale should apply to office workers and executive staff members alike, with the provision that in adjusting to the new scale, no existing salaries would be reduced.

The office workers approved the plan, and agreed that the pay period should be twice monthly instead of weekly for everyone. The new salary scale went into effect April 1, 1948. Take-home base pay for office workers and unmarried executives of the FOR is now $1750, or approximately $2000 before taxes. Take-home pay of married executives reaches a top of about $4,000, with most between $3,000 and $3,600.

The office organization has grown into a useful instrument, and has successfully represented the interests of the office workers. Even more important, it has become an integral part of the planning done in the FOR wherever the interests of its members are affected, and decisions concerning the office employees are no longer made from above, but with genuine

consultation and agreement on both sides.

Since it is the belief of the Fellowship also that no person should be compelled to live on a subsistence basis, but should make any such decision of his own free choice, the salary scale, aimed now to provide a reasonable living wage, is also in accord with FOR principles.

And the basis of the pay scale in need rather than job classification for all FOR workers is the expression of our belief in the worth of every individual and in every useful job, with each worker doing the thing for which he is best fitted.

Intangible Results

The intangible results of this evolution are more difficult to evaluate. An office with a staff of 25 is an awkward size, rather large to be run entirely without organization but small enough to run the risk of over-organization. The atmosphere is still informal and most individual problems of one kind or another, except for salaries, are settled directly, with no reference to the office organization. At the same time the organization can and does deal with problems which concern the whole office staff, or which an individual prefers to have handled that way.

New insights into the use of group discussion and advice in the case of dissatisfied and unsatisfactory workers may come, and open up new possibilities in the interrelationships of workers with other workers and with employers.

However, one worker opposes the idea of an organization of the office workers as divisive in itself, and certainly the danger that loyalty to the office group might override loyalty to the FOR in some situations must be watched for and avoided. Lately a few seem to have felt that something of the old office camaraderie has been lost, but whether because of the office organization or simply as an inevitable result of division of labor and an increased staff, or both, is hard to say.

The Good Old Days

In the old days, when literature orders piled up the whole editorial department dropped what it was doing and wrapped packages, volunteers came in to help keep up the records, and when one secretary got snowed under others came in after hours to help her dig out. With a much increased load of work and doubled or tripled staff the necessary division of labor has made for less of this easy cooperation. The concern for at least a certain amount of economic security and some regularization of hours, so that a few whose departments were busy would not be forced into working an excessive amount of overtime, while growing out of the division of labor, have tended to harden this separation. With some responsibility in the hands of the office organization, and the increased size of the staff, the personal interest of some of the individual workers in the FOR may not be as strong as old hands feel it used to be.

The situation is still changing and developing. It is impossible to tell what the final form will be, or whether it will continue to change indefinitely. In any case, this is one way in which the workers in the FOR are trying to carry out in their everyday lives the principles for which the Fellowship stands.

Soon — but Not Yet

By MILTON MAYER

IT IS NOT DEATH we are all afraid of, but life, and not life everlasting, but the life that is open to us right here and right now. The way men always ought to live is the way men have got to live now if they are going to live at all. And still we hang back. Why?

We know now that our hope, not alone in the next life, but also in this, lies this one way. We know now that whether the draft is passed or not is secondary; that whether Truman is elected, or Stassen, or anyone else, is secondary; that whether the Marshall Plan "stops communism" is secondary. We know that these things are secondary, and even inconsequential. We know because we know in our hearts that this is the time of the end.

No Solution

Maybe not this year. Maybe not next, or five or ten years from now. But the time of the end is in our hearts. There is no "stopping communism." There is no stopping militarism. There is no solution in China, or in Czechoslovakia, or, above all, in Palestine. We know that the election we bought in Italy wasn't worth the price, because this is the time of the end. We know that there will be no settlement, however often they are "settled," of the disputes in the automobile industry, in meat packing, in the railroads, or in the coal mines.

And still we talk, and hang back. We are still politicians, when politics is dead. We still talk. We still talk about averting, or avoiding, or preventing war. And every hallucination—for instance, the refusal of the House Rules Committee to let peacetime conscription come to the floor—is a triumph. After we have fought and fought and fought to prevent peacetime conscription, militarism outflanks us by proposing the revival of the draft. Then a "compromise" is reached; the time of the end comes closer on yet another front; and we have won another hallucination.

Why do we hang back? Why do I? Am I protecting my family? How does a man protect his family, except by losing his life to build a world without which his family will certainly lose theirs? Am I of greater usefulness to the common cause doing what I am doing? But if all of us, including me, are not doing something in common, where is the common cause?

Read all about it—and us—in Augustine, the professor of rhetoric who prayed to be saved—"soon, but not yet." He figured out the way to live, and couldn't bring himself to live it. We have had the way figured out for us, and can't bring ourselves to live it. Pacifists argue whether or not they should support Henry Wallace—the recent advocate of "merciless bombing"—

and while they are arguing, Wallace is reassuring them that he will support war.

Our faith has moved no mountains, because our faith is weak. The pacifist who said that the only cause of war was the timidity of pacifists spoke well. What shall we do now, at the time of the end? Organize another Keep America Out of War Committee? Hold another series of conferences? March again (this time by plane) on Washington? Call a mass meeting attended by 200 people?

Peace Is Not Free

We cannot avert war except by overturning the world, and we know it. Why don't we overturn the world, then? Because we are so few, or because our faith is so weak that we think it takes many? The price of peace rises every instant. But we think we shall get it free, or even, in the case of professional pacifists like me, make money on it. And in our hearts we know that this is the time of the end, and that only a new beginning has hope.

Why do we hang back? Why do I? We are more timid than round-the-world fliers, or acrobats, or gigolos, or conscript soldiers. More timid than those who risk everything for a bauble; we will risk nothing but our vocal cords for salvation itself.

Salvation here, as well as hereafter. We are wrong—wrong, or worse—in both the short-term and the long-term views. We cling to hallucinations that are dust. We think we shall stave off the end, and live like our grandfathers. We think we shall be let alone. And all the time we know we shall not be.

We have talked testimony. We—certainly I—haven't borne it. We are all paying the price of our hypocrisy in the schizophrenia that besets us all; we do not believe, in our hearts, in what we are doing.

Time of the End

There was once a young man who wanted to live the way men always ought to live, but before he did so he wanted to go back. Not back for a farewell drinking bout with the boys. Not back to kiss his girl good-bye. Not back to dispose of his business, or arrange his affairs. He wanted to turn back to perform the most sacred of worldly rites. He wanted to bury his father.

But there was no time. If there was no time for him to do something sacred, how can we suppose, at the eleventh hour, that there is time for us to do everything secular and still live the way we have got to live if we are going to live at all?

We—certainly I—will overturn the world only if we overturn ourselves. Will we continue to argue, like the Pharisees themselves, about the decrees of Caesar, and wrangle over which we should deny and which we shouldn't? Shall we, like them, neither enter the Kingdom ourselves nor let others enter? Shall we, like them, affect to be bewildered when, like them, we are not?

I know how to be saved. I have plenty of know-how; I lack only know-what. I do not know that I want to be saved. The cost, the cost! It was so comfortable the way it was; and, who knows, if I play my cards close to my chest, talking pacifism and supporting war, I may slither through, and it may be comfortable again. Unless this is the time of the end. And I know in my heart that it is.

W. E. ORCHARD

A Meditation

O God, who hatest nothing that Thou hast made, carest for Thy creation more than men care for their property, and lovest every soul of man more than a mother her only child; may this same care and love displace man's inhumanity and selfishness, until, in a new sense of the beauty of man's body and the eternal value of his soul, cruelty and neglect, pain and sorrow pass away.

We pray for the coming of the commonwealth where those who toil shall be honored and rewarded, where a man's worth shall be reckoned higher than the price of the things he fashions with hand or brain, where science shall serve, not destruction or private gain, but preservation and the common good.

We remember those who labor continually under the danger of death, that others may be protected, warmed, and comforted. We are conscious of the sacrifice that others are called upon to make on our behalf. We remember those who are ready to lay down their lives for the preservation of our peace and the provision of our needs. May we so live that such sacrifice shall not have been in vain. May the whole community be stirred to wonder whether men need suffer as they do.

Give inspiration to those who labor at the perfecting of protective science, and who seek the redemption of the workers. Make a new tie of blood sacrifice between us all. Since Thou didst, to our confusion and amazement, declare Thy nature most of all in the Craftsman of Nazareth, so once again may redemption spring from the ranks of those who toil.

We do not ask to pass beyond the things of sense and time, but to see in them Thy presence; in the crises of our times, Thy judgments; in the rising demand for righteousness, the coming of Thy kingdom. Amen.

—From *The Temple—A Book of Prayer* by W. E. Orchard, D.D. By permission of E. P. Dutton and Co.

PARABLE

So Abram rose, and clave the wood,
and went
And took the fire with him,
and a knife.
And as they sojourned
both of them together,
Isaac, the young lad spoke and said,
My Father,
Behold the preparations,
fire and iron.
But where the lamb for this
burnt offering?
Then Abram bound the youth
with belts and straps
And stretchéd forth the knife
to slay his son.
When lo! an angel called him
out of heaven,
Saying, Lay not thy hand
upon the lad,
Neither do anything to him.
Behold,
A ram caught in a thicket
by its horns;
Offer the Ram of Pride
instead of him.
But the old man would not so,
but slew his son.

Wilfred Owen

VERA BRITTAIN'S

London Letter

April 28, 1948

ROYALTY AND RULERS have been much in the news here of late. Even London's November was kind to the marriage of Princess Elizabeth, and two of the loveliest days of spring enhanced the unveiling of the Roosevelt Memorial on April 12 and the Silver Wedding of the King and Queen on April 26.

By means of 5/- subscriptions, the British people raised in six days the £40,000 required for the Roosevelt statue by Sir William Reid Dick and the transformation of Grosvenor Square into a public garden. We need not endorse Mr. Roosevelt's policies in order to feel glad when the citizens of one country thus honor wholeheartedly the lost leader of another. The Pilgrims, who arranged the ceremony, welcomed Mrs. Roosevelt with the best hospitality that London has to offer—and London's best is still quite good.

Memorable Tableau

From the dinner given for her by the Pilgrims at the Savoy Hotel on the evening of the unveiling I carried away, like the other guests, a memorable tableau. When the speeches were over and Mrs. Roosevelt was leaving, the band struck up "The Star Spangled Banner." At the top of the steps leading from the banquet hall she turned, much moved, and standing to attention faced the assembly. Beside her, in profile, stood Princess Elizabeth, so much prettier than her pictures. At that moment the whole gathering was united by an emotion difficult to define. No barrier of eminence or publicity isolated the chief guests from the others. We saw only a tall widow and a young bride, pleasantly deferential to the older woman.

During that week, we felt hopefully, London's hosts came almost within sight of rivalling the incomparable hospitality of the United States. But before me lies a press-clipping sent by an American friend which takes a different view. It is an open letter, apparently widely syndicated in U.S. newspapers, from Mr. Charles B. Driscoll to Mr. J. B. Priestley. Mr. Priestley, it seems, in his blunt Yorkshire manner has been making some uncomplimentary remarks about New York. Americans should not take these too seriously; I have seldom read a more appreciative picture of life in America than Mr. Priestley's travel book, *Midnight on the Desert.* Charles B. Driscoll, however, retaliates with barbed words. J.B., for him, is "a lost citizen of a decadent, beaten and poverty-stricken land, existing today upon the bounty of the Americans," and London is "a dirty, filthy, smelly city that once claimed to be the mistress of the world."

It is a pity, I think, that the citizens of two great countries, whose real friendship came to life in the memorial ceremonies, should thus

needlessly belabor each other. Being Staffordshire-born I can view London with detachment though I have lived in it for thirty years. Parts of it, like sections of every metropolis throughout the world, are certainly dirty, though recently the taxes were raised in the better-off London boroughs to enable the poorer ones to have cleaner streets. And most of its houses, like my own riverside home built in 1720, badly need a coat of paint. During the war and since, this has been virtually unobtainable. One fact that startled me in flooded and devastated Holland, which I visited in September, 1945, was the prevalence of newly painted houses even in battle areas. In Holland it was patriotic to conceal paint from the occupying forces. In England patriotism required the citizen to give it up.

April in England

Yes, we are rather shabby, but I wish Mr. Driscoll could see the scene in front of the eighteenth-century balcony where I am writing this letter. The Thames sparkles in the sunshine of a spring rivalled only by the long succession of brilliant days last summer. Across the water a delicate veil of green lies over the chestnuts and sycamores in Battersea Park. Throughout the length of Chelsea Embankment with its ancient houses and gardens, lilac, laburnum and rhododendrons are bursting fragrantly into flower. The wisteria is budding in the little back garden where we sheltered from the air raids.

Among the many great cities that I have seen, I love New York one of the best. I remember with delight the magnificent sweep of the Hudson toward Poughkeepsie and the clear sunwashed air of Riverside Heights. But New York cannot give its inhabitants the slow, sweet unfolding of an English spring; nor can Central Park match the present glory of orange tulips in Hyde Park and Kensington Gardens.

But even if we grant that Mr. Driscoll truthfully criticizes London, I am sure he is not right about my fellow countrymen. Certainly our England is less prosperous than the remembered England of my childhood; of that I am glad, for the vanity of worldly possessions is writ large in the history of my generation. But though our values have changed, we are not beaten, decadent, or lost.

The Silver Wedding of the King and Queen reminds me that my husband and I will celebrate our own two years hence. Our son is two years younger than Princess Elizabeth, our daughter a fortnight older than Princess Margaret. Such anniversaries inspire many memories; and what I remember leads me to put some recent developments to the credit side of the British people.

The year 1923 came nearly five years after the end of the First World War, but the British wartime hatred of the Germans had then hardly diminished. No hope existed of such a movement as the present Save Europe Now, founded in September 1945 by Victor Gollancz, who recently left for his first visit to the United States. With the bomb damage still raw in London, 40,000 British people then undertook to send part of their rations to starving Europe, including Germany. In the past 2½ years, hundreds of thousands of concerned British citizens have sent food, clothing, books, and encouraging letters to cheer their late enemies.

The 1923 British House of Commons would never have suspended capital punishment—the achievement of a majority of back-bench M.P.'s who so often represent popular sentiment more truly than the higher-placed politicians. Nor, in 1923, would the recently published report, *The Church and the Atom*,[1] the work of a Commission appointed by the Archbishops of Canterbury and York in accordance with a resolution of the Church Assembly in June 1946, have so signally failed to satisfy a public which longs for the Church to give it a courageous lead against war.

Much questioning has been provoked by the Commission's published condemnation of "unconditional surrender" and obliteration bombing. If these things are said today, people ask, why were they not said in the war years, when they would have had some practical value?

Readers of *Massacre by Bombing*[2] will be interested to learn that on page 43 of *The Church and the Atom* the following passage occurs:

> The Commission is agreed that the "obliteration" bombing of whole cities with high-capacity and incendiary bombs, the success of which is measured by the number of acres devastated, must be condemned. It is inconsistent with the limited end of a just war; it violates the principles of discrimination which we have established; and it is not necessary for the security of the attacking aircraft. In fact, it constitutes an act of wholesale destruction that cannot be justified.

When the 28 American religious leaders who with me made their protest against obliteration bombing were attacked by President Roosevelt, William L. Shirer, and almost the whole American press, it would have been useful to know that the Church of England was on our side, even if it could not be with us in condemning war as a whole. But the Church was then silent. It has still to prove itself worthy of the British men and women who today, tolerant, patient, and appreciative of American generosity which does not seem to them humiliating, are revealing their capacity to learn from experience.

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1 Obtainable from the Press and Publications Board of the Church Assembly, Church House, Dean's Yard, Westminster, S.W. 1. London, England.

2 FELLOWSHIP, March 1944.

"The peoples of the world still have it in their own several powers as human beings *not* to do many things, while their capacity collectively to organize for positive doing may be more speculative and remote. To take from the terminology of labor relations, it seems within the realm of reasonable belief that the peoples of the world, including the present captive peoples of Soviet Russia, might be organized in a world-wide sit-down strike against war. And it is doubted that this facility of human beings *not*-to-do has been wholly absorbed even in totalitarian Russia. . . . "

—Dean Wesley A. Sturges of Yale Law School, at the Centennial Commemoration exercises of the Tulane University Law School, April 7, 1948.

News from the Peace Front

A. J. Muste Takes Tax Refusal Position

Stating that "World War III has already started," and that the war measures of our government are "insane, wicked and suicidal," A. J. Muste declared that he could no longer pay his Federal income tax. Mr. Muste's statement, giving his individual position, which is of course in no way an official FOR position, was made public at the meeting of the FOR National Council in May.

"Each citizen, each religious believer, and especially anyone who plans some part in the molding of public opinion must now ask what is the utmost he can do to open people's eyes to the true situation and how he can withdraw his own support from the war in every way that is open to him and regardless of the cost," Mr. Muste's statement said.

"All the arguments against tax-refusal have in my own mind been laid low by the revealing and unspeakably shocking developments of recent weeks."

Mr. Muste went on to say, "I cannot support a government in these war-measures, which I deem insane, wicked and suicidal. I must withdraw support from such war-measures in every possible way. The two decisive powers of government, especially with respect to war, are the power to conscript and the power to tax. Pacifists recognize that to be consistent they must refuse to be conscripted for military service or training. I have come as the result of long reflection and prayer to the conviction that I at least am in conscience bound, in the present period, under the conditions above set forth, to challenge the right of the government to tax me for waging war, and in particular for the production of atomic and bacterial weapons."

His statement concludes: "The need for getting our pacifist teaching off the level of talk and writing and onto the level of action is, I believe, imperative. We suffer—and shall soon be doomed to impotence if we are not on our guard—from directing our propaganda, as Edmond Taylor points out in *Richer By Asia,* at *minds* rather than at *men.* We believe in the magic power of correct ideas, rather than in soul-force. We think, therefore, that 'we can order one world by mail and have it come wrapped in cellophane. That is why our peace personalities are less developed than our intellects, or our war personalities. . . . That is why reason and right seem so unavailing against the powers of darkness.' "

* * *

Since Mr. Muste's statement was written, the United States has twice rejected Soviet offers of a parley between the two nations to iron out their differences. On May 12 Marshall rejected Russia's first bid, and on May 18, in answer to a broadcast by Marshal Stalin himself, refused again.

FOR Member Runs for Congress

Miss Erma Appleby, resident of Mobile, Alabama and longtime FOR member, on May 4 ran for the Democratic nomination for Congress against the incumbent, Frank W. Boykin, and one Joe Thompson. Miss Appleby feels that "the time has come when people must see that pacifism is not an academic matter." She ran on a platform opposing UMT and Selective Service and the poll tax, supporting revision of the Taft-Hartley Act, and favoring qualified FEPC legislation, while her two opponents favored military preparedness, opposed the FEPC and the President's civil rights program, and opposed Federal poll-tax legislation.

Boykin was re-elected, with 19,955 votes, Thompson received 11,752, and Miss Appleby 608.

Church People Discuss Peace

Concerned about the serious drift toward war, more than 125 individuals from twelve Protestant denominations met in Washington on April 6 and 7 to consider how to vitalize the will to peace and avert war. They were convinced that Christians have a responsibility to arouse and to guide the conscience of the community and that the church has a positive message of courage and hope for the current hour.

Specifically, they urged that this country cease war preparations, declaring that the strengthening of democracy, not resort to arms, was the only method of dealing with the menace of totalitarianism. They urged the immediate restoration of civilian leadership, the defeat of Selective Service and UMT, development of the UN, continued negotiation with Russia, universal disarmament, control of atomic energy, and a world recovery program.

The group proposed to establish immediately a national movement to carry out these principles, and urged local groups to use all facilities at their disposal, both denominational and secular, to broadcast these proposals. They urged local church members to express their opinions to Congressmen, make a house-to-house canvass of church members to get action on the local level, and to spread its message among the public.

"Alternative" Appears, First Time Around

The magazine (or paper) of ideas has been coming and going so rapidly and fitfully in the last few years that FELLOWSHIP would like to say "Salud!" to *Alternative* quickly. Calling itself "Successor to *Pacifica Views* and *Direct Action*," in a small format with four pages, *Alternative* hopes to be dangerous. "Dangerous to the economic and political systems which expect . . . people to undergo inflation, depression, World War I, inflation, etc. . . . without revolting. . . . This is an age in which people have lost confidence in the practicality of their best instincts. Persons who hate to hear a child cry find themselves making atom bombs. . . . "

Alternative's editors are Robert Auerbach, David Dellinger, Ralph DiGia, Albert Eichel, Roy Finch, Sander Katz, Wm. Kuenning, John Mack, J. H. McCandless, Anne Moffett, Andrew Osgood, Margaret Rockwell, and Igal Roodenko.

Chicago Conference Follow-Up

The Continuation Committee of the Chicago Conference, meeting at Yellow Springs, Ohio, on April 20-22, made plans for following up the decisions of the Chicago Conference of April 2-4, and agreed tentatively to the name of Peacemakers.

Cells organized along the lines discussed at Chicago will be affiliated with the Peacemakers organization, although on what basis is still to be decided. Each cell will work out its own discipline, and no attempt will be made to impose specific formulations. However, all disciplines should include the basic elements of resistance to war, including refusal to participate, acceptance of the concept of civil disobedience, the recognition that this is not merely a political movement, but that individuals must work for changes in themselves in order to accomplish the goals they seek.

Training centers will be set up, where trainers and trainees will work as a community, having equal status, sharing work, and living cooperatively. Work will begin immediately on a center at Oskaloosa, Iowa, on the initiative of Cecil Hinshaw, and at Modesto, California with George Burcham and Winifred Rawlins. A third center may be located in Philadelphia, Chicago or New York. Itinerants in these centers will earn most of their living by taking part-time jobs.

Canadian Catholics Circulate Peace Pledge

The Catholic Pacifists' Association of Canada, with headquarters in Montreal, circulates with the Ecclesiastical Approbation, a Catholic Peace Pledge whose signers declare that "No longer do we consent, in any way whatsoever, to be accomplices in the fratricidal abomination of war efforts," and vow "to be active only in welfare instead of warfare services."

The group has about 300 members in Canada, and affiliations with similar groups in the United States, Holland, Belgium, Germany and Great Britain.

This is the first pacifist pledge approved by Catholic authorities, and represents a real victory for tolerance and for peace. Eight years ago, in 1940, the little group of Catholics who felt compelled to refuse to participate in the war effort determined to do their best to make the pacifist position "orthodox" before the Catholic clergy. Since they were brought up in the specific teaching that Catholics could not be pacifists, they have accomplished a great deal.

Einstein Warns Against Militarism

In his acceptance of one of three One World Awards for 1948, Albert Einstein warned that proposed militarization of the U. S. "not only immediately threatens us with war, it will also slowly but surely destroy the democratic spirit and the dignity of the individual in our land." He continued, "The assertion that events abroad force us to arm is wrong. We must combat it with all our strength. Actually, our own rearmament, through the reaction of other nations to it, will bring about that very situation on which its advocates seek to base their proposals."

Movement Against Jimcrow UMT Grows

The Committee Against Jimcrow in Military Service, headed by Grant Reynolds and A. Philip Randolph, who have pledged themselves to resist, and to urge all Negro and white youth to resist, a jimcrow draft, has called a Commission of Inquiry into wartime treatment of Negro soldiers. The Commission held public hearings on May 8 and 9 in Washington, and plans to hold them in Philadelphia before the political conventions, and elsewhere in the country, to show the effect on Negroes of the segregation and discrimination to which they were subjected in the armed forces.

Mr. Reynolds has called attention to the fact that the Republican party, during the war, declared in favor of an investigation of Negro GI grievances, but took no action. The Committee Against Jimcrow is circulating buttons which read "Don't Join a Jimcrow Army," and pledge cards to be signed by men of all races who will refuse to join a jimcrow army. The Committee's address is: 217 West 125 St., New York City.

On April 25 Mr. Reynolds declared: "If an act of Congress forces Negro leaders to go to jail for their democratic convictions, we can say with certainty from the flood of rank-and-file telegrams and letters we have received, that Congress will not force us to go alone."

Peace Train

In an effort to make a dramatic appeal for world peace, clergymen and laymen organized the "Peace Train," which in April traveled from the West Coast to Lake Success and Washington, picking up another large group in Chicago. The Peace Train had its origin at the Peace Institute of the Churches of the Brethren in Modesto and Waterford, Cal., and the group told the President and Secretary Marshall that it is not too late to take positive action to preserve peace and bring an accord between the nations.

The Portland, Oregon, group drew up a peace program including disarmament, the taking by the U.S. of its responsibility for a share of the present crisis, acceptance of Russia's invitation for a meeting of the heads of the two governments, restoration of civilian control of our government, and relief and reconstruction as long as needed.

A Peace Plane carrying fifty additional clergymen and laymen flew from Los Angeles a few days later for the same purpose.

Peace Village

Dr. Max Renz, formerly a lawyer in Frieburg in the Black Forest of Germany, has dedicated his property in the neighborhood to the cause of peace. There is an old Black Forest inn with accommodations for 20 people, and other nearby buildings, which Dr. Renz makes available for conferences, seminars and retreats of peace groups. He charges no rent, but the problem of food is one of the persistent difficulties of any conference in present-day Germany. Groups in this country who would send CARE packages to supplement the meager rations which are available would be helping the German peace movement.

The complete address is: Dr. Max Renz, Friedensdörfchen, Renzeck ob Rohrbach, Schwartzwald, Post Schönenbach, (17b) Baden, French Zone, Germany.

FOR Member To Govern Jerusalem

Harold Evans, FOR member, Quaker and Philadelphia attorney, was designated on May 13 to be Municipal Commissioner of Jerusalem, after a long search by the UN for someone who would be acceptable to both the Arabs and the Jews. The days ahead for Palestine and the newly created state of Israel will be stormy. Mr. Evans hopes that, as it has done before in places of tension, the Quaker spirit may make it possible to work out solutions along peaceful lines.

Workshops Held

In April and May the Racial-Industrial Department of the FOR held four institutes and workshops in the field of race relations. They took place in Cincinnati, Philadelphia, New York and Norman, Oklahoma.

The Workshop in Norman was attended by students from colleges in various parts of the state, and worked on the subject of Democracy in Education, from April 30 to May 2. The discussion was aimed at the problem of breaking down segregation in the institutions of higher education in Oklahoma. It is the State University at Norman which has so far, despite her Supreme Court victory, refused to admit Ada Lois Sipuel, a Negro girl, to its law school, although there is no state law school for Negroes.

This Workshop is significant as the first step toward a coordinated program of action by students themselves against jimcrow in Oklahoma education.

Palisades Cases Set Aside

The eight members of the Committee of Racial Equality arrested and manhandled last summer for campaigning against the ban on Negroes at Palisades Amusement Park, across the river from New York City, had their convictions reversed on March 4 by Justice William A. Wachenfeld of the New Jersey Supreme Court. Justice Wachenfeld declared that the police courts at Fort Lee and Cliffside Park, where the defendants were tried, had violated a law requiring jury trials in cases where the fine exceeds $20 or the jail term seven days. Attorneys for the defendants had requested jury trials in all the cases, but their requests had been denied.

New Jersey has an excellent anti-discrimination law, under which a skating club had been found guilty of discrimination and fined for excluding Negroes. In the Palisades case it was ruled that a private amusement park is not required to admit persons it considers objectionable.

About the Ads

The editors decline advertising that is obviously unsuitable for the pages of Fellowship. However, years of being on the minority, or censorable, side of most burning issues have left them acutely unwilling to deny to other people the right to announce books, pamphlets or ideas with whose literary or other merit the editors may be in disagreement. Readers will please understand, therefore, that advertisements carry the endorsement of the magazine only when the Fellowship name is included.

Jottings

The Supreme Court on May 3, in a 6-0 decision, held that race restrictive covenants cannot be enforced by recourse to the courts. However, voluntary agreements not to sell to Negroes are not prohibited, the court holding that the 14th amendment "erects no shield against merely private conduct, however discriminatory or wrongful."

* * *

Heifers for Relief has permission to send 2,000 milk goats to Japan, with the U. S. Army paying the freight. The cost of a goat delivered to the ship is $50. People sending goats should, if possible, deliver them to Heifers for Relief, 30 N. Marion Ave., Pasadena 4, California.

* * *

Senator Millard E. Tydings, (D., Md.), member of the Senate Armed Services Committee, says the U.S. will want air bases "in Asia, Africa and probably in Europe" if it must face Russia in a future war. "We cannot bomb Russian cities in World War III from bases in the United States . . . " he says.

* * *

On April 15, the House re-passed over President Truman's veto a bill which will deprive from 500,000 to 700,000 workers of coverage by Social Security, adding them to the millions of agricultural, domestic and governmental employes (*and* those in non-profit agencies) who are excluded from old age, unemployment, sickness and disability benefits.

Several thousand Army, Navy and Air Force chaplains holding a four-day conference in New York in May offered prayers "every hour on the hour" for the "unfortunate, misled" Russian masses.

* * *

A Friendship Train for 1948 is being organized to start east in October, and will accept any commodity for shipment to the devastated countries of Europe. Organizers of the project hope to collect 3,500,000 bushels of wheat this year, compared with 285,000 bushels on last year's train.

* * *

FOR groups who publish any kind of newsletter are asked to send a copy regularly to John Swomley, at the National office.

* * *

The United States Army is just completing a $13,000,000 air base in northern Japan capable of taking care of the heaviest long-range bombers. Japan is the country whose postwar constitution, written under American auspices, renounces the evils of militarism.

* * *

The House of Representatives, at about the same time it was pushing an unasked $822,000,000 additional onto the armed forces, permitted its Rules Committee effectively to kill a bill authorizing American participation in the UN World Health Organization, which would cost the United States $1,900,000 annually to help stamp out communicable disease and improve health throughout the world.

Books

Record of a Race

From Slavery to Freedom: A History of American Negroes, by Jay Hope Franklin. Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1947. 622 pp. $5.

The Walls Came Tumbling Down: The Autobiography of Mary White Ovington. Harcourt, Brace, and Company, 1947. 307 pp. $3.

These two publications provide excellent examples of two different but equally important approaches to understanding the position of the Negro in the American social order. Dr. Franklin has taken the approach of the historical scholar, seeking "to bring together the essential facts in the history of the American Negro from his ancient African beginnings down to the present time." Miss Ovington has devoted the largest part of her autobiography to giving us an "inside" picture of the history of one of the leading agencies for achieving the "freedom" in the latter part of Franklin's title.

Franklin's thirty chapters are designed primarily as a textbook. Yet the work is so well executed that it will be of interest and aid to thousands of nonacademic readers. It is the history of a people written in the context of the political, social, and economic life of a nation. Its most admirable characteristics are (1) its soundness of scholarship without the dullness too often associated with historical writing, (2) its sense of perspective—a quality difficult to achieve in a discussion of the Negroes' role in American life, and (3) its comprehensiveness. It is social history in the best sense of the word.

Miss Ovington's autobiography carries in its "intimate" style and modesty of presentation more than a hint of a life that Walter White (in the foreword) speaks of as that of a "fighting saint." There are here the wisdom of the serpent and the harmlessness of the dove. Mary White Ovington was among those spiritual descendants of the abolitionists who convened the Conference in 1909 which led to the establishment of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. She is still—at the age of eighty-two—one of the most active and respected members of this organization's board of directors. As a woman of independent means, she could and did contribute her time as well as her money to the organization. She gave far more. She has given unstintingly of herself. Miss Ovington worked as an unpaid executive of the Association for many of the years when there was not money enough to employ personnel. She was not a wealthy, but sentimental, busybody. She was a trained social worker and a wise "operator."

Miss Ovington was part of a consecrated group of white people who were thoroughly convinced—quite against the then-prevailing notions of organized philanthropy and "science"—of the proposition that

Negroes should have complete equality. Among those who worked with her in those early years were such persons as John Haynes Holmes, Moorfield Storey, Jane Addams, Oswald Garrison Villard, Charles Russell, and a Gideon's Band of others. These people were and have been determined to work *with* Negroes; and they worked when it often seemed that there were not more than a baker's dozen of Negroes who were themselves convinced of the fundamental proposition on which they worked. Happily, Miss Ovington has lived to see Negroes take over their full share of leadership and support of the Association. And she has known the joy of having been both trumpet-blower and pitcher-smasher as wall after wall has come tumbling down.

—CHARLES R. LAWRENCE, JR.

The Russians

Russia and the Russians, by Edward Crankshaw. Viking Press, 1947. 223 pages. $3.

Last August just before taking the plane back to the United States I picked up an English paper that carried on the front page a little item about a book just published written by an Englishman, Edward Crankshaw, who had been with the British Military Mission in Moscow for some time. The theme of the book, according to the newspaper, was that the rest of the world must conquer and wipe out the Russians or love them.

Some weeks ago the *New York Times* carried a review of the American edition of the book, by Frederick L. Schuman of Williams College, who said this was the one book on Russia he wished he might himself have written. I have read the book and am almost ready to repeat Professor Schuman's statement.

The book contains an interpretive historical survey which is original and strikes me as shedding considerable light on contemporary matters. With respect to the latter it seems to me that Crankshaw presents a remarkably balanced as well as vivid review and analysis. He points out, for example, that "in principle the Russian knows no fear, provided he works hard and leaves political heresy alone, and no financial worries." Food is cheap, rent insignificant, educational and medical attention free. Moreover, "there is in his life a dignity which shines even through the appalling privations of war. It comes from the fact that he does not live at his neighbor's expense."

Just as straightforwardly the author asserts: "This precious new society, this paradise of Komsomols, does not make provision for the independent mind and spirit—for the mind and spirit as we understand it, that is. None whatsoever, either by our Western standards or by any other standards, including Russian. . . . The citizens of Russia are in certain directions forbidden to think."

THE REVIEWERS

CHARLES LAWRENCE, *formerly professor of sociology at Fisk University, is studying at Columbia University's graduate school of sociology, on fellowship. He's a member of the FOR Executive Committee. . . .* MARY JANE WARD, *also a pacifist, is author of the best-seller,* The Snake Pit, *and of* The Professor's Umbrella, *out this spring.*

Thus the difference between Russia and the West is profound and fateful: "It is the difference between two aims in life which are opposed and forever incompatible: on the one hand, the striving for the greatest good of the greatest number. Our struggle . . . has, no matter what we say, always been for the greatest good—and damn the unhappy majority. The struggle of Russia . . . has been for the greatest good of the greatest number—and damn the glorious minority. If that is not a radical difference I do not know what is."

To my great delight, since it is what for more than two years I have been trying to preach, Crankshaw insists that Britain and America must make a clean-cut choice between the power struggle or fidelity to their ethical or Christian ideals. "Either we do refuse to bargain with the lives of men and women, in which case we have to discontinue a good many of our overseas pursuits and dispense with certain accustomed comforts—or we admit that we must bargain with the lives of men and women and cease to pretend that we do not. . . . Moral leadership, if it means anything at all, means more than international slumming" with our bread baskets. "It must mean the deliberate carrying out of ideas which seem to us good for no other reason than their goodness, and regardless of the material consequences to ourselves. In a world of fluctuating values the price of honor remains constant. You cannot be Socrates if you shrink from the taste of hemlock." He adds that the highest price is not always demanded, but the willingness to pay it is.

Carrying his thought further, he points out that the sovereign nation is now a perversion. "The members of a nation, to keep their souls, their national souls, paradoxically, as well as their individual souls, must cease to belong to nations," must free "themselves from the necessity of spending all their energies in defending the nation. And, like all revolutions, the abdication of national sovereignty will have to start in a unilateral manner. It is not enough to wait until others also abdicate: we should have to wait forever—or until one nation has destroyed the rest."

Thus the only way to overcome Russia and communism is that of forgiveness and love. Even if we were assured of "our total innocence" and that there was no just cause for Russian suspicion, we still must take on ourselves the burden of removing that suspicion, must go the second mile. "And if we refuse to do this, we put ourselves precisely on the level with the Russians themselves, who refuse to believe in the fundamental decency of our attitude because so many of its manifestations appear to them unreasonable and absurd."

Still Crankshaw does not seem to go all the way in accepting pacifism. For the life of me, I cannot understand why in view of the arguments which I have described. Nor can I understand what he can mean by Britain and the United States making it quite clear "how far the Russians may go and how far they may not go." By what means? Atomic bombs? By what else if, after all, material, military means must be resorted to? But these Crankshaw would seem himself to rule out when he continues: "I know better than to expect any restraint and objectivity from the Russian Marxists whose possession by a dogma is complete. . . . It is

up to us to take what measures we can to preserve our own values —remembering always that a war to which we may look forward will write those values off forever, no matter who is technically the conqueror."

—A. J. MUSTE

The Forgotten Sick

Out of Sight, Out of Mind, by Frank L. Wright, Jr. National Mental Health Foundation, Inc., 1947. 164 pp. $1.

Forty-five percent of our hospital beds are occupied by persons who apparently are put out of mind as easily as they are put out of sight. In an effort to bring the plight of six hundred thousand Americans to the attention of the general public, Frank L. Wright, Jr., has compiled a series of eye-witness reports taken from the files of the National Mental Health Foundation. Supplementing these stories are photographs taken in hospitals, quotations from recognized leaders in mental hygiene, and a final chapter which gives illuminating statistics and suggestions for individual and group action.

"Mr. Wright's forceful book is not pleasant reading," says Owen J. Roberts in his foreword, "for it deals with exceptionally unpleasant facts." Indeed the book contains disgusting, nauseating and heart-breaking details which I, for one, would want withheld from the public if I thought there was any chance that the problem of the mentally ill could be met by the relatively few professional and lay persons who have devoted years to the attempt to cope with it. However, the solution is beyond the powers of any one group. The public must be provided with information, even though such information increases the misery of those who have loved ones in mental hospitals.

A survey recently conducted by the Foundation revealed that mental hospital doctors are paid as little as $150 per month. No matter how self-sacrificing the doctor may be, he is forced to carry a patient-load that prohibits the individual care the average mental case must receive if actual and potential recoveries are to tally. In general, attendants, whose importance in the psychiatric team cannot be overemphasized, receive little or no training, and the pay for this highly specialized profession sometimes is as low as $40 per month, plus a type of maintenance few American workers would consider compensatory. Who is responsible for the existence of the concentration camps Mr. Wright's book depicts? Hospital administrators operating on budgets which prevent them from supplying patients with even *minimum* requirements? Legislators who, hearing no public demand, fail to increase these budgets?

The shadows cast by Mr. Wright's minor brutes surely cannot keep his readers from seeing the overwhelming pall of the major villain, the unseeing, unthinking public.

—MARY JANE WARD

Briefly Noted

In the plethora of mystery stories and lightweight fiction from the presses of the paper-book publishers, Penguin Books deserve honorable mention for some fine titles in inexpensive editions. Two recent ones are Lillian Smith's *Strange Fruit* (25c) and Ruth Benedict's *Patterns of Culture* (35c).

Letters

Another Party Heard From

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

The Prohibition Party deserves the support of pacifists, I believe, because, although it is not a pacifist organization (nor are any of the other parties), it has never in its national platform supported a war. Because of its name, most people think that it stands only for prohibition, but it was in fact the first political party to propose woman suffrage and the direct election of United States Senators. In addition to these constitutional amendments it also proposed the graduated income tax amendment long before either major party had the courage to espouse it.

Its 1948 platform, and many previous platforms, have opposed "any program of peacetime conscription" and other forms of militarism, and supported world cooperation. The present National Chairman of the party has been an active FOR member for years, and many of its other leaders have been FOR members.

The 1948 national platform of the party also supports world control of atomic energy, cooperatives, extension of social security to all, and legislation making it possible for "every American family that desires to do so to own its own home." It opposes all racial discrimination and monopolies, as well as the commercialized alcoholic beverage industry.

Dr. Claude Watson, a California lawyer who defended civil liberties cases of Americans of Japanese ancestry during the war, is the candidate for President. He received nearly 200,000 votes as Prohibition candidate for Attorney-General of California a couple of years ago. As the Prohibition presidential candidate in 1944 he received 76,000 votes, compared with 80,000 for Norman Thomas, the Socialist candidate.

The Youth Division of the Prohibition Party has adopted the name *American Youth for Political Action*. Since it adopted this new name it has had a 1000 percent increase in membership and now ranks in size along with the largest progressive non-Communist youth organizations of the nation. The AYPA supports world federation, and economic (non-military) aid to *all* nations in need. It has an excellent 8-point program for peace with Russia that is neither the Truman strong-arm policy, nor appeasement. It supports through the UN all efforts to remove colonial oppression. It supports FEPC, anti-poll tax and anti-lynch laws, and other measures of racial equality. It believes in civil liberties for all, even Communists, although emphatically opposing their totalitarian doctrine. AYPA states, "Every American able and willing to work, has, we believe, the right to useful, regular employment at wages which will provide a decent living according to the highest American standards." It opposes "Universal Military Training and other steps in a worldwide armaments race. Rather we feel that the United States should work for the world abolition of conscription and worldwide disarmament." AYPA also emphatically declares "that the Prohibition Party to win office must change its name."

For further information readers may write to me at 5765 Washington Blvd., Indianapolis 20, Indiana.

ROBERT GEMMER, National Chairman
American Youth for Political Action
Indianapolis, Indiana

Unreconciliatory Reconcilers?

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

The speaker at the FOR meeting was an outstanding religious leader who was not a pacifist. Following his talk there was ample opportunity for questions and discussion, and through it all, the speaker was courteous and thoughtful, and showed an admirable spirit of charity toward those with whom he disagreed.

As much can not be said for many who are members of the FOR. The speaker was practically read out of the Christian Church for not accepting the pacifist point of view. Following the meeting, small groups gathered to explode, and many said they would stop coming if such preposterous opinions were allowed to be voiced by speakers at our meetings.

I am concerned first over the behavior of so many of us. We are sure that if only the leaders of the nations would follow the path we believe to be right, world peace would be achieved. Yet when there is disagreement between us and our non-pacifist friends, the spirit of reconciliation disintegrates, and Christian fellowship is almost destroyed.

Second, I am afraid that our reaction comes partly from our lack of desire to face up to the issues of political reality. One who disagrees with us throws us off balance. He shatters some of our illusions about the beauty and goodness of the world. If he is discussing the world situation, he is apt to present us with some facts concerning political reality which we have overlooked or refused to face because they did not fit into our little scheme of how to make the world a decent place in which to live. Our intemperate reactions to such individuals lead me to think that often we are men of little faith and even less knowledge. It might be healthy for us to spend a long time in honest search for workable answers to today's problems in cooperation with those who disagree with us.

If we are to be members of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, let us seek to make it a meaningful *fellowship* of those who seek a peaceful world in a *spirit of reconciliation.*

ALICE WIMER,
Cambridge, Mass.

That Man's In Again

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

James Peck's arguments in favor of Henry Wallace are all well-founded. No real pacifist can vote for one of the Republican or Democratic possible candidates. And even Norman Thomas should not come into question, because his pacifism is chiefly lip-service.

Dwight Macdonald's objections against Wallace are not unprejudiced nor just. They seem to be dictated by hatred and the desire to bring Wallace in disrepute. Of what use is it to dig up former errors and mistakes of Wallace, since he has now turned to the right way and stands on a clear-cut progressive plank? Furthermore, Macdonald's opposition is influenced by his prejudice against Russia and the Communists which Wallace is free of. Russia's so-called expansion is a strategic counter-move to our government's aggressive actions (such as the "Truman doctrine" and the military aid to China and Greece). And as for communism—this is an ideology with errors, wherefore I am opposed to it. But why not tolerate it like other creeds? The errors may be eliminated some day.

ANDREW CORDIAN,
Flemington, N. J.

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

Dwight Macdonald gives a clearcut picture of his subject. James Peck, after an extended blur, reaches the same conclusion and states the fact in these words, "Some of his speeches are definitely up-in-the-clouds."

Mr. Peck tries to throw dust in our eyes while he shouts in our ears that a vote for Wallace will "express opposition to war." But this is a fantastic conclusion so long as Wallace's record says, "If the Christian Church fights against the U.S. entry into the war, I'll fight the Christian Church up and down the land."

The moment is so tragic that taking a chance on an admitted "unpredictable" is unthinkable to orderly minds. "A safe foundation for a moral and social system" upon which the sane element of the human family can begin again to build a better civilization is paramount. It is this or what appears to be the final act of the end of the highest form of democratic civilization the world has known, and the possible obliteration of human life on this globe.

R. D. SNYDER,
Portland, Oregon

Indefensible "Defense"

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

The news item "Pacifist Granted American Citizenship," in the March FELLOWSHIP, mentions the person who "if naturalized . . . would not bear arms in the country's defense."

The word "defense" is not enclosed in quotation marks. As the sentence stands, it would imply that FELLOWSHIP regards the bearing of arms as furthering the country's "defense."

But is not that precisely the delusion which we pacifists are combating? The notion that war defends—is not that the very target of our pacifist challenge?

Were it not for the vastly graver issues confronting us, we ought to be remonstrating against the use of the name "Department of National Defense" when it should be called "Department of War-making." Previous to the recent merger, "War Department" would be correct. However, the term now used is not "War Department" but the supremely unsuitable term, "Defense Department."

War does not defend. War imperils. War jeopardizes. War creates the very dangers that war propaganda publicizes. Hence my objection to your phrase, "the country's defense."

ABRAHAM CRONBACH,
Cincinnati, Ohio

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Read "PLANNING FOR WORLD PEACE," an interesting booklet concerning us—all to take part in it. Send fifty cents for your copy. Address Emil C. Hasenauer, Hayes Center, Neb.

Professor Charles Orr, Economics Department, Roosevelt College, has collected and filed a vast amount of historical material on "Techniques of Non-Violent Coercion in India." He would like someone to collaborate with him in working this material into a book. If interested, write to him at Roosevelt College, 430 So. Michigan Avenue, Chicago 5, Illinois.

FOR Field Secretaries

Midwest: Albert Watson, 740 Rush Street, Chicago 11, Ill.; *Northwest:* Mary Farquharson, 1406 East 40th Street, Seattle 5, Wash.; *Far West:* Orval Etter, 1941 Oregon Street, Berkeley 3, Cal.; *Southwest:* Glenn Smiley, Room 310, 127 S. Broadway, Los Angeles 12, Cal.

Nothing New to Sell!

A horrid state of affairs exists—Fellowship Publications has no new books to sell you this month! The reason, of course, is the very complete list of books and pamphlets already available. Some of the more important are listed below: do they suggest any holes in your library that need filling?

RECENT

The Church, the Gospel, and War

Edited by RUFUS JONES, in collaboration with the FOR, this is the postwar definitive collection of essays on Christian pacifism. Important for your own reading, and for ministers, church libraries, etc. 2.00

Not By Might

A. J. MUSTE'S statement of pacifism's challenge to the present crisis has won critical acclaim even from opponents, who admit it "dodges no issues" and "demands consideration by the church" and others. 2.50

Crumbling Barriers

Delayed in the printing, CONSTANCE RUMBOUGH'S moving story of the quiet successes of good will in breaking down race barriers in the South is now ready. With a Foreword by Fisk University President CHARLES S. JOHNSON. .40

Between Two Worlds

RALPH TEMPLIN'S quietly exciting account of the pacifist missionaries in India and their struggles to apply pure Christianity in the midst of imperialism and the growing passions of imminent war. .15

OLD STAND-BYS

New Testament Basis of Pacifism

By G. H. C. Macgregor .50

The Power of Non-Violence

The Richard Gregg classic 1.50

Erasing the Color Line

By George Houser .40

They Saw Gandhi

By John S. Hoyland
With a Foreword by John Haynes Holmes
1.75

Conscription

We have a wide selection of inexpensive anti-conscription materials. Send for a complete sample set—25 cents.

Above All Nations

Deeds of kindness performed by "enemy" soldiers during the recent war. .75

CLOSED IN AUGUST

The Fellowship shipping-room will be closed during August, and no orders can be filled during that time. If you anticipate a need for literature in that period, please send in your order before July 20. *Thank you.*

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One in the

EAST

Place: Camp Beaverbrook (Lutherland), Pocono Pines, Pa.

Dates: August 24-29.

Cost: $4.75 per day, includes lodging, meals, and sports. (Hotel rooms $6.30 up.)

Speakers: Prof. Nels Ferré, Andover-Newton; Dr. Amiya Chakravarty, University of Calcutta; Profs. Arthur Swift and Charles A. Iglehart, Union Seminary; Roy McCorkel, AFSC; John Nevin Sayre and A. J. Muste, FOR.

One in the

WEST

Place: Estes Park, Colo.

Dates: August 31-September 5.

Cost: $3.75 per day.

Speakers: Rev. Allan Hunter, Los Angeles; Dean Paul Roberts, Denver; Carle Whitehead, Denver; George Hogle, German FOR; Philip Morrison, Professor at Cornell, Head of scientific mission to Japan to study results of atom bombs; A. J. Muste, George Houser, Glenn Smiley, Orval Etter, FOR.

Advance registration $3 (students, $2) should be sent to

H. F. Hancox, 2929 Broadway, New York 25, N. Y.